1901-1902 (7)

Christian Expansion:

Ancient and Modern.*

"When they therefore were come together they asked of him saying, Lord, dost thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?

"And he said unto them, It is not for you to know. . . .

"But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."—Acts i: 6-8.

THERE is something at once pathetic and inspiring in this record of the last conversation of the disciples with their risen Lord. It is pathetic when we think of the inadequate or apparently inadequate means at the disposal of these few men to revolutionize the world. It is pathetic when we think of the means by which they thought it would be done—the immediate restoration of the kingdom of David. It is pathetic when we think that they

* A sermon preached in Emmanuel Church, Boston, by Leighton Parks, D.D., on Sunday morning, April 27th, 1902, and stenographically reported.

supposed that certainly that kingdom was to be set up at once. "Lord, dost thou at this time?" There is no doubt they thought He would answer, "Yes, at this time."

But it is inspiring when we see these men's absolute trust in their Master. He could not tell them the truth; He could not tell them that never again would Israel be restored as a power as in days of old. He could not reveal to them the future — it would have broken their hearts. But He said, "Ye shall receive power, the power of the Holy Ghost, and ye shall be my witnesses from Jerusalem to the uttermost part of the earth." And they humbly and cheerfully and manfully accepted Christ's answer, and set forth with strong and joyful hearts to do the work that has changed the whole world.

Think, then, first, for a moment, of the motive of Christian expansion. It was to be power from the Holy Ghost; not, primarily, the power of Greece, which was intellectual, nor that of Rome, which was physical force; but moral power, the dynamic of God's holiness in their hearts.

And then there was a definite aim. They were to be the witnesses of Jesus Christ, the witnesses to the ideal life, the witnesses to the presence of the Divine in the human, and so prophets of its inevitable triumph. They were not to have as their object the aim of religious

men in Jerusalem, the establishment of a gorgeous ritual; nor were they to sink into the mistake of the Samaritans, a spurious liberalism; nor were they to be drawn aside by the passion of the world, the worship of Mammon. They were simply to go forth and bear witness that they had seen the Perfect Life and that it would reveal itself to every man that would obey it. And with that power and that ideal they set forth and did the work in Jerusalem and throughout Judea and in Samaria and to the uttermost part of the earth. It was a life of great joy, a life of wonderful results; indeed, the like of it had never been seen on the earth before. And to-day its joy has very largely been lost.

Now, why did it not continue? There are many reasons which I cannot dwell upon and which it is only necessary to indicate. In the first place, as the company grew larger, the interest of the church in organization deflected them from inspiration. And in the second place, the contact with the glory of the Roman Empire made witnessing seem rather tame. Conquest seemed more certain and efficient. And in the third place, the fact that they were brought into contact with a people the like of which they had never seen before, Huns, Vandals, Goths, begot a *skepticism of humanity*. They began to be doubtful if man as man was capable of receiving the divine message; and the instant suspicion of mankind took possession of

the leaders of the church there was an uneasy conscience, and the uneasy conscience led them to feel that any opposition to the prevalent opinion or the custom of the moment must be sinful. So heresy and schism, which once had been deadly sins because they were moral obliquities — heresy being a wilful determination not to receive the truth because it would necessitate a change of life, and schism being, as we can find in all of Saint Paul's Epistles, dissension in the Christian household — these things now became crimes, not sins but crimes. Heresy became treason and schism became rebellion.

When the church came to this point, it was inevitable that it should take another step and say, "In order to save our children from the contamination that is in the world we must strike at the root of the evil," and a suspected man was a condemned man. When the church had come to that, the whole divine idea of Jesus Christ revealed on the Mount of Olives, had been lost, and the Cross had given place to the Inquisition.

Now, by the inevitable law of the survival of the fittest, the nation best adapted to carry on the new policy came to the front. It was Spain that was best fitted to carry on the work of a corrupted Christianity; why, time will not permit us now to even attempt to explain, but it is a fact that I

think no one will deny.[1] And what was it that Spain did? She became the power in church and state. She organized great armies and equipped magnificent fleets, and started out on her career of conquest. It is from two men of Boston, Prescott and Motley, that you and I learned the story when we were boys and girls, and the effect of it can never be effaced. The awful story of the conquest of Mexico, rivers of blood and forests of fire — never, I think, did human nature reveal itself in more awful guise than when the banner of the Cross was planted on the ramparts of Mexico. And it was followed by the conquest of Peru, a same shameful triumph of treachery, of cruelty, of brutality.

Now it is significant that Spain's first conquests were far away from home. The conquest of Mexico, if my memory does not fail me, was about 1518, and the conquest of Peru in 1532 or thereabouts. And on the return of the conquerors Spain started eastward to trample out the spark of liberty in the Netherlands, in 1567,[2] and reached the climax when the Armada was fitted out to bring to an end Protestantism in its last stronghold, the little island of England.

It is significant to see how inevitably the downward course was followed, and cruelty and torture

1. See Appendix. Note 1. 2. See Appendix. Note 2.

and brutality afar off came home, as they always will do, while the Righteous Judge is on the throne.

So with this knowledge of the story behind us, told to us by the eloquent lips of such men as Prescott and Motley, the heart of this people was greatly stirred when at last the old creature in its dotage undertook to defy the great young giant of the West, the giant to whom the words of the Psalmist in the Messianic Psalm might well be applied, "The dew of thy birth is of the womb of the morning;"—a new baptism, a baptism into liberty, into the great name of freedom, of justice, of mercy; with the dew of a new morning of infinite hope. We were almost ashamed of the weakness of the adversary when we saw this great young giant come and simply lay his hand upon the withered shoulder and the poor creature sank down into its rags. We were almost ashamed that we had not a greater adversary. And four years ago we sang our Te Deum to God for His mercy. We had conquered Spain and the last vestige of debased humanity and inhuman Christianity had been driven from the western islands and from this Continent inherited from our fathers, the protestant adversaries of Spain in Holland and in England.

Today we moan our Miserere of humiliation, for Spain has conquered us. It was only a dream; we thought we had conquered, but the wily

old enemy in his fall handed to the conqueror the cup of conquest, and he drank it and went mad. And the very methods employed by Spain, which produced a situation which Mr. McKinley said was intolerable, have not only been reproduced but magnified under the folds of our own flag. And, therefore, it is well that in the temple of God we should recount what the whole world knows today,—that we have forsaken the Lord our God and gone after other gods to our hurt.

There is no need, I think, to rehearse the shameful story, for it may be read in all the newspapers. And let me here, as one who has not failed, I think, in the past, to point out the shortcomings of the press, to say publicly today, that this country owes a debt that it can scarcely estimate to the secular press of the United States, which, without regard to party affiliation, has told this story to be read of all. And if you suppose there has been no pressure put upon men to hold back this story, then I will tell you that you do not know whereof you speak, for I know to the contrary and were it necessary I could prove it.

The question for us is, not what were the details of the brutalities of the soldiers, nor the amount of the cruelty that has been executed in the Philippines We first thought there could be no truth in it, and then we thought that they were sporadic cases inflamed by contact with an enemy that seemed to

follow no rules of warfare. But now, we learn, it is not the soldiery alone, but the non commissioned officers that have stood by and applied the torture; not only the non-commissioned officers, but upon examination they have referred back to their captain and the captain has referred back to Waller; and he was acquitted,—we can only charitably suppose, on the ground that he was acting under the orders of Smith, who has now been put upon trial, and who does not hesitate to declare he is guilty. On what ground will he be acquitted? It may be because he has acted on the orders of Chaffee. We hope not. But he must be brought to trial. Will he be acquitted? Perhaps not. But he may say, "I have acted under the direction of the Secretary of War." *There is where we ought to fix our attention.* Leave the soldiers alone; leave the non-commissioned officers and the captains and the majors and the brigadier generals and the major generals alone, and fix your attention, people of the United States, on the War Department, on the Secretary of War, and find out through your own representatives in Congress and in the Senate how this man has administered the sacred trust committed to his charge. [3] When the President inaugurated his cabinet there was no man, I think, drawn to his counsels, in whom the country had greater confidence than in Secretary Root. Now let us look at the facts of the case.

---

3. See Appendix. Note 3.

I preached a sermon—you will excuse my mentioning the fact, but some of you may remember it,—I preached a sermon in this church some Sunday afternoons ago in which I simply alluded to these stories. It was a sermon on moral courage, and I had the noble example of the senior senator of this State to hold up to the young people of this congregation. But I was taken to task within three minutes after the congregation was dismissed by a friend—a man in whose judgment I have confidence and whose integrity is flawless. He assured me that he knew the facts and that I was wrong. I did not believe I was wrong, because I had taken the greatest care to look into this matter. Nevertheless I was shaken and when later he sent me a copy of Mr. Root's Letter to Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Investigating Committee, I was speechless. Would such a man lie? Could he be mistaken? I doubt not, my experience of first incredulity, then of suspicion, and then confidence in the Administration is typical of the mental processes of the average man throughout the country. Now listen to it:

"You will perceive," says Mr. Root, "that in substantially every case [of torture] the report has proved to be either unfounded or grossly exaggerated." *Now that is false.* [4]

"As to orders . . . governing our soldiers in the

4. See Appendix. Note 4.

Philippines, I send you a copy of the instructions for the government of armies of the United States, promulgated under President Lincoln, which have been the effective guide and rule of conduct which every officer understands he must conform to."

That is false. These rules have not been an effective guide. And every officer has not felt that he must conform to them.[5]

"That the soldiers, fighting against such an enemy and with their own eyes witnessing such deeds, should occasionally, regardless of their orders, retaliate by unjustifiable severities, is not incredible." No. Now listen to this, my friends:

"A constant and effective pressure of prohibition, precept and discipline has been maintained against them" — (that is, against the torture.) Now, with a full sense of responsibility I say that that is not true, and the facts brought out by the investigations of the committee that has sat since he wrote this letter have proved that is not true.[6] It is not necessary to continue the matter. You can yourselves look into it and find whether this charge can be substantiated or not. I assert that there has been no effective pressure brought to bear, and to say that it has been brought to bear is to assert what is contrary to the facts.

One word more. In this way the letter closes:

"The war in the Philippines has been conducted

5. See Appendix. Note 5. 6. See Appendix. Note 6.

by the American army, with scrupulous regard for the rules of civilized warfare, with careful and genuine consideration for the prisoner and the noncombatant, with self-restraint and with humanity never surpassed, if ever equalled, in any conflict, worthy only of praise and reflecting credit upon the American people." Now, it is false, and it has been proved to be false.

Time will not permit to quote from the report of Governor Taft or from the report of Governor Gardner, but any one can refer to it.

Now, the question I ask is this: When Secretaty Root made these positive assertions, did he know the facts or did he not know them. Let us assume that he did not know the facts — and his long and honorable career justifies us in assuming that he did not know them — in that case it is imperative that he should explain why he did not know them when it was his business to know them, and unless that culpable ignorance can be explained he should be removed by the President from the office that he has shown himself unfit to exercise. And, on the other hand, should it be shown by an investigation that he knew the facts, he should be impeached and degraded. For here is a fact that cannot be denied by any man; the report of Governor Gardner, which first brought this to light, was kept in the department and never

made public, and I do not think it is too much to say that it never would have been made public had it not been that pressure from outside was brought to bear upon the War Department and the Senate insisted that the truth should be told.[7]

These are the facts, my friends, and what is the justification that we hear from honorable men?—for that, it seems to me, is almost as serious as the fact itself. We are first told that we are not in a position to judge, because these men acted in hot blood, under great provocations—as I have no doubt there were--and if that were all it would be sufficient to punish the ring-leaders. But it is not so; this thing has not been done in hot blood alone; it has been done deliberately; it has been done in an attempt to find out the secrets that these wretched people did not wish to give.[8]

Where were the arms? They were at Lexington. Why did no Boston man tell where they were? Because he was a patriot. Why did not the English torture these men and make them tell? They could have done it. There is not a man of us here, preacher or hearer, who, if he were submitted to things that the Philippinos have suffered, would not tell anything, truth or lie to escape.[9]

It was not done in hot blood. It was done

---

7. See Appendix. Note 7.
8. See Appendix. Note 8.
9. See Appendix. Note 9.

deliberately and with a settled purpose, which purpose was in nearly every case effective.

We are told in the second place that it is in retaliation for wrongs done by the Filipinos. It is possible; certainly, they have done great wrongs. The shameless massacre of the troops and of the brother of our own friend and minister, Mr. Bumpus, and of brave and noble soldiers, is an awful stain upon these men. But, friends, is the *lex talionis* the law of a Christian nation? We are justified in taking the men who are violating the rules of civilized warfare and putting them to death as an example, but we are not justified in maiming the little finger of one of them for in so doing we sink ourselves beneath them.

But the last defence, and the worst of all is this, — that it is inevitable; that you cannot conquer these people in any other way, and that if the work is to be done, there is only one thing to do and that is what has been done, namely, enter a village, take every house there, and set it on fire, and let the wretched people escape with what they have on their backs. Are there women in child-bed? Then send some soldier in — to take them by the heels and drag them out and leave them in the fields, while we sing "Nearer My God to Thee!"[9a] It is to close about these wretched creatures, and when they surrender, induce them to draw near, and then

9a. See Appendix. Note 9a.

to shoot them. It has been done.[10] It is to send out scouting parties and simply slaughter everything above ten years old. It reminds us a little of the story we read in the early chapters of St. Matthew, only Herod took them a little younger, but General Smith thinks ten years old and upward will do.

"It is necessary. We do not like it." I am not sure; I am not sure that the last is not the truth — that the thing never can be done except by means which horrified us when Spain used them and which the conscience of this people will never permit until it has been seared with a hot iron.[11]

What can we do? In the first place, we can determine to know the truth, and not shut our eyes as it is set before us in the facts. We must remember that, if we are witnesses to Jesus Christ, we cannot afford, in the club, at the dinner party, or at any gathering of men and women, to admit that there is any justification for this thing at all.

Some of you have influence, I suppose, with the President of the United States. It is to him that our hearts and our hopes turn this day. He is a good man and a just, and I hope it will be said of him when he dies, as was said of John Knox — the noblest epitaph of any man — "He feared not the face of man."

We owe to the President our prayers, our daily

10. See Appendix. Note 10. 11. See Appendix. Note 11.

prayers to God, that he may follow the lead of God's Holy Spirit which has been imparted to him in the past and I believe is with him to-day. But, Brethren, if we suppose it is an easy thing to do at any time or that it will be easy for the President to do it in this exigency of his life, we are greatly mistaken. There is not a favored interest in this country that will not threaten him with loss of nomination; every party leader will say, "If you divide the party, we lose the next house and the presidency." Every imaginary sort of pressure will be brought to bear upon that man, and the pressure will be overwhelming unless he has with him the power of Almighty God. He ought to know that the silent people, who desire nothing from the government but liberty, peace and justice, are with him and are praying God that he may be helped because he has come to the parting of the ways.

On the one side are the shadows of Aaron Burr and Arnold, the shadows of all the vile graspers after privilege and favor, the unholy drove of wretched creatures that have fattened upon the riches of this land, and they are calling to him to come to them, for without them and their influence he cannot accomplish his high purpose. Party is like the right hand of the President, yes. But it is better that he should cut it off than that he should go down soul and body into hell, a hell

where the cries of little children who have been slaughtered at the mother's breast, where the wail of the wife and the sob of the widow and the strong cries of agony from the man who tried to do his duty, shall go up to the throne of God. He may be President again and again and again, but if he becomes so by yielding to what he knows, in the moment of inspiration, is unworthy of him as a man, as a Christian, as a descendant of the heroic defenders of Holland, he has prepared for himself a hell where the worm shall not die and the fire of disappointment shall not be quenched. May God save him from it. May God save this nation from the shame, the degradation, that has fallen upon us because we left the high ideal of Jesus Christ and gave up being witnesses to all men of liberty, fraternity, equality, justice and peace, and turned aside to gain the kingdom of the world and thereby have almost lost our soul.

Brethren, think of these things, and remember that ultimately it is not the man that did the wrong, General or Secretary of War, it is not the President of the United States; it is you and I who will be held responsible. For God will ask of every one of us, "What did you do and say and pray in that time of national humiliation?"

Let us Pray.

All-mighty God, the Judge of the whole earth, the Father of all the children of men, to Whom all hearts are open, all desires known and from Whom no secrets are hid, have mercy upon this whole land. Thou in Thy goodness didst bring our fathers into this good land and didst inspire them with the love of righteousness, of mercy and of peace. Thou hast blessed us above all people, but, O God, we have forgotten Thee and gone after false gods to our hurt. Have mercy upon us. Lead us again into the paths of righteousness for Thy mercy's sake.

Bless, we pray, Thy servant, the President of the United States, that he may stand between the living and the dead, that this plague may cease. Enlighten his mind, strengthen his heart, that he may quit himself like a man and lead Thy people in the paths of peace and happiness, truth and justice.

We pray, in this hour of humiliation, in the name of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, Lord of lords and King of kings. Amen.

APPENDIX.

NOTE 1.

Probably the life or death struggle with Mahomidanism produced what the psychologists call an "imitative reaction." The cruelties of the Saracens hypnotized them. It was not racial; it was not the Catholic religion. It was partly accidental and partly the wilful choosing of unholy means to accomplish a good purpose that was the beginning of the degradation of Spain. To think of the Inquisition as essentially a Roman Catholic institution can only result in Protestant pride. Or to assume that it is exclusively "Latin" can only harden the Anglo-Saxon phariseism from which England and North America suffer to-day.

NOTE 2.

The war of course began earlier. This was the date of Alva's commission, when the methods first found efficacious among uncivilized people were applied to the indomitable Dutch.

NOTE 3.

Since these words were spoken, the Hon. Joseph A. Conry, of Boston, introduced the following resolution in the House of Representatives:

"*Whereas*, It is stated in the public press that, at a court-martial held at Manila, P. I., April 25, 1902, of Gen. Jacob H. Smith, an officer of the U. S. army, charged with conduct preju li-

cial to good order and discipline, counsel for defence admitted that General Smith gave instructions to Major Waller to kill and burn and make Samar a howling wilderness, that he wanted everybody killed capable of bearing arms, and that he did specify all over ten years of age;

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be and is hereby requested to report to the House of Representatives, if said orders were issued with the knowledge and approval of the War Department, and if not, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be and is hereby requested to ascertain and report to the House of Representatives whether said orders were issued by General Smith, acting on his own responsibility, or under the direction of any superior officer."

I do not know what will be the fate of that resolution, but it is a satisfaction to know that Boston has as a representative, the one man who has placed his finger on the vital point namely, has the Secretary of War been ignorant of, or implicated in, this wrong-doing?

NOTE 4.

"That cruelties have been inflicted;" that people have been shot when they ought not to have been; that there have been individual instances of the water cure, that torture which I believe involves pouring water down the throat so that the man swells and gets the impression that he is going to be suffocated and then tells what he knows, which was a frequent treatment under the Spaniards. I am told that *all these things are true*." [Italics mine.]

Testimony of Governor Taft before the Committee on the Philippines.

"The water cure has been administered to thousands of natives in the Philippines, at least in Panay. . . . We had to do it, there was no other way to get along with those fellows. We did not do it in the spirit of malevolence or for the purpose of inflicting pain. But the water cure is the quickest remedy for non-communicativeness and mendacity which has yet been discovered in the Philippines."

When asked if the treatment was generally fatal, he significantly replied, "*Well, they usually get sick, and some of them never recover from that sickness.* Of course we never torture any Filipinos to death; but the only way to get along with them is to administer the water cure. *I have known kerosene and even cocoanut oil used instead of water, but the effect is the same.*" [Italics mine.]

W. H. Clark, a returned soldier, in an interview published in the *Kanas City Journal*, March 10, 1902.

"These Macabebes" (the Macabebes are a savage tribe that the officers of the United States army have hired to act as guides and allies in this war of extermination. The employment of these men is like the inciting of the Indians by the French in our Colonial wars, and like the employment of the Kaffirs in South Africa whom England was urged to use against the Boers, but which to England's infinite honor she refused to do) "they catch a Tagalo, their sworn enemies, and laying him flat on his back, put a club about four feet long in his mouth and *a man stands on each end of this club* which forces his mouth wide open, and then proceed to quench his thirst, . . This may sound very shocking to you at home, but if you were here you would realize fully that extreme cases require extreme measures." Letter from John E. White,

sergeant 9th U. S. Infantry, published in the *Atlanta Constitution*.

This is horrible and disgusting, but there are other acts of these wretches which it is not fit to print. An account of their treatment of helpless women can be found in the report of the Investigating Committee of the Senate. Pages 1750 and 1751.

"The water cure is the favorite torture of the Americans to force the natives to give information concerning the insurrectos. The native is bound and gagged, and one man pours water and sand down his throat while another beats him on the stomach until it swells out like a drum. This torture is said to be horrible, and it generally makes the Filipinos betray everything, but many are game to the last and carry their secrets to the grave.

"A soldier who was with General Funston told me that he helped to administer the 'water cure' to one hundred and sixty natives, all but twenty-six of whom died."

From the correspondent of the Columbia *South Carolina State*."

NOTE 5.

Rule number 16 says "Military necessity does not admit of cruelty, that is, the infliction of suffering of the sake of suffering or for revenge, nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, *nor of torture to extort confessions*." [Italics mine.]

How can a well informed and honest man say that that rule has been the practice and effective guide of the army when in his own letter to the Chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, he includes the following report of Ernest Hagedorn, 2nd Lieutenant U. S. Infantry? "I was ordered to take command of Cabagan Nuevo on

June 12, twelve days after an attack made on the detachment of Lieutenant Butler, 49th U. S. Volunteers, and about two months after the disappearance of Private Anderson, Co. E., 16th Infantry. After looking over the situation, I came to the conclusion that the attack had been made mainly by the inhabitants of the town itself. All other means of obtaining information about the occurrence proved failures; I seized three suspicious characters. These on being questioned refused to give any information at all. I then ordered them *confined to the stocks with a diet of salt fish without water. This diet had excellent and direct results. After forty-eight hours* all three gave more or less information which led to the capture and wounding of one Tagalo, the capture of fifteen guns and rifles of different makes, several revolvers, and over fifty war bolos." [Italics mine.]

Certainly this man had violated Rule Number 16. What was his penalty? Colonel Charles S. Hood, his Regimental Commander, remarks as follows:

"Lieutenant Hagedorn has been most energetic in the performance of his duties and has rendered valuable service in the pacification of this district. It is believed he acted in the best interest of the service, even if mistakenly, and it is recommended that no further action be taken in the case." (This was the sentence of the Court-Martial!)

NOTE 6.

Q. Were you present on any occasion when the water cure or any other torture was inflicted upon the Filipinos?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, if you have any statement to make in regard to that (cruelty practiced by our troops), the Committee

will hear it. A.—My company (with another) were part of the force that made a clearing up of the Candaba Swamp . . . . There were supposed to be a great many arms concealed there. We moved out, and we had an advance guard of Macabebe scouts. The small hamlets that lay in our path were surrounded, and the Macabebes corralled these men and put them through this ordeal, and gathered a great many guns thereby.

Q. The Macabebe scouts took these prisoners?—A. As the towns were approached a little skeleton cordon was thrown out. In some cases our companies moved out and formed it . . The Macabebes would then enter the houses and pull out these men and talk with them and take them down to the well and put them through this test, and then the men would go off and get the guns.

Q. And they tortured them, you say, to get knowledge of the guns? A.—Yes, sir.

Q. Was this done entirely by the Macabebe scouts? —A. On that evening it was done entirely by the Macabebe scouts, but on the following morning we kept on our march, and we collected all countrymen in the barrios, and a little farther along ——

By Senator Beveridge:

Q. Just a moment before you go any further. Did you get the guns?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the application of the test you got the guns? —A. Yes, sir.

Q. Go ahead.—A. Of course I could not testify as to the number; I was in the back-ground. On the following day this same thing was repeated and our men took quite a little part in it, apparently as volunteers. They were not ordered to do so, I know that.

By the Chairman:

Q. They were not ordered to do so?—A. No.

Q. They were men of your regiment?—A. Yes; men of my regiment.

Q. Was any effort made to prevent it by the officers?—A. Not the slightest.

Q. Did you witness any specific case?—A. I witnessed some twenty specific cases.

Senator Patterson.—What was that, Lieutenant?

The Witness.—I witnessed quite a number of cases, because I was acting as a sort of an aid to the officer in command of our two companies, Major Geary . . . The Macabebes who were detailed with us were not under a commissioned officer at this time. They were with us and they were under a sergeant.

The Chairman.—Was he a Macabebe?

The Witness.—He was a white man. He was an American.

Senator Burrows.—Was he in the United States service?

The Witness.—Yes; he was a regular soldier, but detailed. I do not remember his name, sir. And I saw this being done, and I told Major Geary. I went over and said to Major Geary that no commissioned officer seemed to be in charge or seemed to be observing it, and that I would stay there for awhile if he wished me to. He said, "All right, if you want to." So in that way I happened to see this performed on about, I would say, something over twenty men. This was on the second morning. The things that I had witnessed on the night before I had witnessed only casually here and there. I was not what you might call a spectator.

The Chairman.—Do you mean these men of your regiment were acting under your orders?

The Witness.—No; the men did not. They simply

assisted the Macabebe scouts in this. They simply volunteered their assistance.

By Senator Patterson:

Q. Where was your Major.—A. Sitting about sixty yards away.

Q.—Then the Major accompanied the companies out on this work?—A. Yes; he was in command of our two companies of white troops, the volunteer infantry.

Q. And quite conversant with what was going on?—A. Absolutely.

By the Chairman:

Q. Did he give orders that it should be done?—A. No, Sir. These men were working on their own orders and instructions. Our attitude was entirely passive, you understand.

By Senator Patterson:

Q. For what purpose do you say this detail went out?—A. To disarm the Candaba marsh—that is, the people living through there.

Q. And you reached villages there, did you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And those upon whom the torture was inflicted were, apparently, residents or citizens occupying this little barrio?—A. They were.

Q. They did not appear to be soldiers, but were simply residents living in those little places—that is what they appeared to be?—A. It is impossible—well, of course, I understand your question, but it is not a fair question, because none of them appeared to be soldiers. I mean it is absolutely impossible to judge from the appearance of a native whether he is a soldier or not.

Q. Were there women and children in those barrios, as well as men?—A. There were.

Q. They were occupied by families?—A. Yes. They were, to all intents and purposes, country people, peasants, or whatever you want to call them.

Q. To all intents and purposes, they were peaceable barrios or villages?—A. Yes.

By Senator Culberson:

Q. Senator Beveridge asked you whether or not the treatment by the Americans of the Filipinos engaged in peaceable pursuits was not kindly, and you answered generally that it was. I ask you in that connection whether or not the people upon whom this water cure was inflicted, in the three instances stated by you, were not peaceable citizens of the archipelago? You stated that you did not get any arms from them at all?—A. No; we did not.

Q. And you were not able to get any arms from them?—A. No, sir; none at all. Absolutely no satisfaction was gotten as far as that was concerned.

Q. I will ask you to state if you ever saw any Filipino towns burned by American soldiers?—A. Yes: I have seen hamlets, small towns of fifty or sixty houses, burned.

Q. Were the people who lived in these houses engaged in peaceable pursuits?—A. Apparently, yes.

Q. And they were burned by the American troops?—A. They were.

Senator Patterson.—Q. What became of the men, women and children that were occupying those hamlets?

The Witness.—I think the idea was at that time that the burning of these villages would drive the people to the woods or to the towns; a policy of concentration, I think.

By Senator Culberson.—Do you know whom they bor-

rowed that method from? The Witness.—Yes, sir; I saw it done in Cuba.

Q. Under whose authority in Cuba?—A. I do not mean in our army.

Q. Under whose authority?---A. Under General Weyler, I believe —Testimony of Grover Flint, Lieut. 35th Infantry, U. S. V., before the Investigating Committee of the Senate.

NOTE 7.

Colonel Cornelius Gardner, Civil Governor of the Province of Tayabas, was handed to Governor Taft on December 24th, 1901. On reaching Washington, this report was submitted by Governor Taft to the Secretary of War, with a statement that (owing to the great friction between him and those officers succeeding him in military command) it ought not to be acted on without giving those accused an opportunity to be heard. What the Secretary of War did with this report we have not yet learned, but it was not until April 8th, 1902, that the Secretary of War sent this report to the Investigating Committee in compliance with their request.

NOTE 8.

"During my stay in Samar, the only prisoners that were made, so far as I know, were taken by Waller's command, and I heard this act criticised by the highest officers as a mistake, which they believed would not be repeated when better acquainted with conditions in Samar. . . . If, on their march, Waller and his men shot any natives they met, their action would be fully covered by the general orders of General Smith.

"The truth is, the struggle in Samar is one of extermination in which up to the present the Samarites have been more successful than we, because it is a method of warfare more in harmony with their brutal natures." (In this connection read Governor Gardner's report, showing the effect of kindness.)

From the letter of Stephen Bonsal in the *Boston Transcript*.

NOTE 9.

Perhaps here and there there might be found such a hero as endured in the Philippines.

This is the testimony of Grover Flint :

SENATOR CARMACK. You say you saw one man who never did yield ?—

WITNESS. Yes : one man was pointed out to me as being an alleged insurgent Lieutenant, and he was pointed out as being absolutely unyielding.

SENATOR MCCOMAS. You did not see that?

WITNESS. I saw his condition. They had worked pretty hard on him. He was pointed out simply as being a most gallant man.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. What was his condition?

SENATOR CARMACK. He was pointed out as what?

WITNESS. A man of great courage : that he had been absolutely unyielding and had simply defied us :—

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. When this man was brought out what condition was he in?

WITNESS. He was almost fainting . . I did not see him worked upon. I simply saw him being led around and I think Major Geary sent word not to have anything to do with that man any more. I mean, to let him pass, not to bother him any more, to let him go.

By Senator Patterson:

Q. You say in the case of this particular man the Major gave orders not to punish him any more? A. Yes, he did. I am perfectly sure of that. Wait a moment—yes, I heard him say to the sergeant "let that man go."

NOTE 9 a

"At Dungas, in July, 1900, the men were ordered to burn everything and see that no grown person escaped . . . . . The soldiers came to a hut where a native woman had just given birth to a child. The husband was made prisoner and the woman and child dragged from the hut and left on the ground. The native shack was then burned." Extract from letters of William La belle and Albert W. Bertrand, of Lynn, Mass., privates in Company D, 26th Regiment, U. S. V. to Senator Lodge, printed in Boston Herald, April 24, 1902.

NOTE 10.

"Our soldiers . . . . . have made prisoners of people who held up their hands and peacefully surrendered and an hour later, without an attempt of evidence to show they were even insurrectos stood them on a bridge and shot them down one by one to drop in the water below and float as examples to those who might find them with bullets in their corpses. Letter from Special correspondent of the Philadelphia Ledger, November 1901.

NOTE 11.

General Hughes. "The policy became stiffer as we went along as it naturally would do with any operations with that people.

Q. It became what? A. STIFFER: in the first company, or rather during our first summer, we started out to contend with a united force . . . . . They were notified however before that company was , owing to a few shots that were fired at some people near camp, that if this sort of thing was practised, that if they allowed guerillas to conceal themselves in villages and towns outside of our lines and fired on our detachments passing through, we would burn the place. In the course of time there were quite a number of fires as a result of that practise.

Q. The punishment in that case would fall not upon the men who could go elsewhere but mainly upon the women and little children.

GENERAL HUGHES: *The women and children are part of the family, and where you wish to inflict a punishment you can punish the men probably worse in that way than in any other.*

Testimony of Gen. Hughes before the Investigating Committee of the Senate.

CONCLUSION.

There are indications that there will be an attempt to weaken the force of the testimony which is daily accumulating on the ground that it grossly exaggerates the state of affairs. Let it be admitted at once that it is probable that there has been exaggeration and that there will be. The question it would be well for us to consider, however, is would we go to war today with Spain on the evidence that we have on the affairs of the Philippines? If not, then the temper of the people has changed.

It will be said that some of the extracts printed here are the unconfirmed reports of correspondents to various newspapers and that they ought not to be offered as evi-

dence. My answer is that, with but one exception, in every case, the character of these correspondents is vouched for by men in whose judgment this congregation would have implicit confidence.

The last objection is that we have no technical evidence before us to lead us to a judgment. This also may be admitted to be true, but it in no way affects the question, for if public opinion cannot be formed until technical evidence, that is such evidence as would be admitted in a court of law can be produced, public opinion would soon become a dead letter. There is enough to justify earnest men in demanding all the facts, especially when they have reason to suspect that the facts have not been given and to insist that no matter how high a man may be placed in public office, he shall give an account to the people of his stewardship, and in calling on those in authority to see that justice is done.

I cannot better close this dreadful revelation, than in the words of a friend, whose position, character, and attainments are recognized and admired by all educated men in this country. He is a republican and an imperialist. "As we are in no danger of being conquered by the Filipinos, there is small shame in giving up, if it is true as claimed by the army, that we cannot pacify without exterminating." (Extract from a letter received by me Sunday afternoon, April 27th, 1902.)

N. B.—The extracts printed here are but a few specimens of a large number of reports from trustworthy sources which space does not permit me to print. In addition there is testimony which is verbal, which the Senate Committee has not heard. When all the facts are known I believe the people will be convinced that men have been threatened with loss of position or custom if they testified.